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Israeli Decision-Making Process
in Counter-Terrorism Strategy

Bachelor's thesis

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Declaration of authorship

I hereby declare that I have worked out the bachelor's thesis on the topic of Israeli decision-making process in counter-terrorism strategy independently and I have used only the sources stated in the list of references.

In Brno, 09/12/2012   ....

Markéta Studená

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For any errors or inadequacies that may remain in this work, the responsibility is, of course, entirely my own.

Key words:

Israel, decision-making, counter-terrorism, foreign policy, hard power, soft power

Abstract:

This bachelor's thesis is focused on describing the decision-making process in Israeli counter-terrorism strategy in the theoretical frame of hard vs. soft power approach. The main goal of the thesis is to find possible ways of implementing the soft power approach into counter-terrorism strategic decision-making in a larger scale. This goal will be reached through identifying and analyzing the effects of emphasizing hard power counter-terrorism strategy on international perception of Israel and its foreign policy.

Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

Recent developments in the Middle East and the whole Arab world have made the issue of terrorism in Israel increasingly pressing again and brought a question whether current hard power oriented approach of Israeli government is appropriate or more importantly, effective in the light of acceptance of the state of Israel by the international community. With the outburst of Arab spring and the nationalisms of Arab nations progressing further, it could be only a matter of time until the recent period of relative calm after the Second Intifada and the Lebanon war breaks out into violent clashes again. An important impulse can be the outcome of the uprising in neighboring Syria as well as the approach of the international community and neighboring Arab states towards Iran.

If Iran is pushed into the corner it could use Hezbollah in southern Lebanon as a proxy because it is already supporting the group at the moment even though relatively discretely. Militants in southern Lebanon bolstered by financial, operational, and moral support can wage a bloody terror war against Israel, which would achieve the goal of Iran to destabilize the region and throw Israel into a new spiral of violence.

If we look at Hamas, the key actor of terrorism against the state of Israel, it already proved during the Second Intifada it is capable of carrying out sophisticated terror attacks that can bring the violence in Israel to an almost unbearable level. Violence during the Second Intifada lead to large military operations on the part of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), which in several cases got severely out of hand. However, the Israeli establishment has to embrace the fact that terrorists are not only waging a hard power physically violent war nowadays but also using the soft power approach, especially informational warfare. Media, the Internet, and social networking sites have become new arms in their hands. Even the slightest things can cause panic and paralyze the society, because nobody knows when or where something is going to happen.

Even though using media for their purpose is not so easy, at least if the terror organization does not have direct access or influence over them, some terror organizations like Al-Shabaab[1] are able to take great advantage of the Internet and especially social networking sites to prove their point. Al-Shabaab used Twitter (account is under the handle

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[1] "***Al-Shabaab*** *Al-Mujahidiin is an off-shoot of Somalia's recent Islamic Courts Union (ICU) which evolved from a grass-roots community driven Islamic Jihad movement inspired by Somali Islamic scholars who were trained in Saudi Arabia as Wahhabi sect followers. It is an active, armed, politicized fanatical group that nominally operates under the ICU flag. ... It is a very flexible organization with multiple cells that has no specifically written or declared program other than creating and imposing strictly Islamic Wahhabi doctrine in Somalia. ...".* (Ali 2008:1)

@HSMPress) to confront the Kenyan Defense Forces (KDF) Major Emmanuel Chirchir - the press officer for the Kenyan Army – who has been leading a Twitter war of words and propaganda against the militant Islamists of al-Shabaab in southern Somalia to accompany the military operation of KDF called Linda Nchi ("Defend the Country"). Elmi Abdi, an information and communications technology student at Jomo Kenyatta University in Nairobi, commented in an interview for Roble on December 16, 2011, that *"[Al-Shabaab] can use Twitter and other social platforms for recruiting and spreading their extremist ideologies."* (Roble, 2011)

Seeing the development in soft power approach on the part of terrorist groups in other areas of the world, this thesis sets itself a task to research the decision-making process in the Israeli counter-terrorism strategy in the theoretical frame of hard versus soft power approach and to use these findings to explore possible ways of implementing the soft power measures into counter-terrorism strategic decision-making in a larger scale. This goal will be reached through identifying and analyzing the effects of emphasizing hard power counter-terrorism strategy on international perception of Israel and its foreign policy.

Firstly, the definition of terrorism will be discussed in order to lay out the basis for the counter-terrorism response. Furthermore, the goals of counter-terrorism strategy will be identified and hard vs. soft power approach will be analyzed to set out the theoretical frame for this thesis. Secondly, the history of Palestinian terrorism will be briefly described with the emphasis on Hamas as the key Palestinian terrorist group. This will be used to analyze the development of Israeli counter-terrorism policy in response to trends in Palestinian terrorism. Thirdly, the research sub-question concerning the political emphasis on the hard power oriented counter-terrorism strategy will be elaborated on. And finally in the last chapter, the actors in Israeli counter-terrorism policy will be described with special focus on their powers and the main research question - if it is possible to implement soft power approach measures into Israeli counter-terrorism policy - will be answered.

The research will be based on an analysis of mainly secondary sources, above all the book by Boaz Ganor *"The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers"* and the book by Ami Pedahzur *"The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle Against Terrorism"*, which will be used to describe the history of Palestinian terrorism and Israeli counter-terrorism strategy that developed in response to it. Also, several primary sources such as reports of the United Nations (UN) or European Union will be used.

The author will use English transliterations of Hebrew and Arab words and names throughout the thesis.

Chapter Two: Methodology

This thesis is a single-case study of terrorism perpetrated against the state of Israel, mostly concentrating on subversive terrorism from Palestinian territories but also taking note of cross-border terrorism from southern Lebanon. Main goal of this thesis is to find possible ways of implementing the soft power approach into Israeli counter-terrorism decision-making in a larger scale. In order to examine this possibility, the author has chosen the main research question: Would larger implementation of the soft power approach into Israeli counter-terrorism decision-making make the strategy more effective than the current hard power approach? As this question cannot be answered statistically the form of the research will be qualitative.

To research the main goal of the thesis, the author will concentrate on the sub-question how the political emphasis on the hard power oriented counter-terrorism strategy is affecting perception of Israel on international level and its foreign policy. The sub-question will be answered through an analysis of reactions of the world to three Israeli military counter-terrorism actions:

1. Operation Defensive Shield in response to the outbreak of the Second Intifada
2. Operation Change of Direction that marked the beginning of the intervention to southern Lebanon in 2006
3. Operation Cast Lead in Gaza in winter 2008-2009

The analysis will be based on speeches given publicly by state leaders and their cabinet members or representatives to international organizations, resolutions by the EU and UN and will also pay attention to media coverage and intensity of world public's reaction (such as protests). Indicators of bad perception of Israel and its policy will be words of condemnation and accusations of violating international law in analyzed documents as well as employment of embargos or sanctions, which will be of special importance. To indicate general acceptance of the Israeli counter-terrorism policy, the analysis will search for recognition of the right to defend itself or expressions of support or offers of help in the struggle against terrorism.

The answer to the sub-question will be then used together with possible ways of implementation of soft power counter-terrorism measures to prove the possibility of making the current hard power strategy more effective by this implementation.

2.1 Terminology

In the process of formulating any kind of strategy, especially a strategy aimed at addressing such security threat as terrorism, it is imperative that the threat is precisely defined (Ganor 2008: 1). However, as the term terrorism is very complex and has different aspects in various contexts there is no consensus on a universal definition. Various experts and scholars use very diverse definitions of the phenomenon. Even individual groups or terrorist acts can be subjectively perceived either as terrorism or other phenomena such as national liberation struggles, guerilla warfare or criminal activity (Ganor 2008: 1).

For purposes of this thesis, the author is going to work with the definition of Boaz Ganor (2008: 17) who defines terrorism as *"a form of violent struggle in which violence is deliberately used against civilians in order to achieve political goals (nationalistic, socioeconomic, ideological, religious, etc.)."* This definition is based on three elements: essence of action (the form of violent struggle), the goal underlying terrorism (always political, no matter what the motive behind the goal is which rules out criminal and psychopathological acts of violence) and the target of damage (civilians).

Furthermore, it is important to classify the threat so later on in the thesis, it is clear that the author is talking just about a very specific segment of terrorism. We can characterize terrorism on the part of Palestinian extremist groups as ethnical and territorial. A religious aspect is obviously involved too but it is not the primary aim of the terror campaign. Terror acts committed by Palestinian terrorist groups are subversive against the state of Israel and also domestic as they take place within the internationally recognized Israeli borders. However, Israel is also confronted with transnational terrorism coming from across the Lebanese border from time to time. Both Hezbollah and Hamas, the key Palestinian terrorist organization in Israel, are or in the case of Hamas were getting different forms of state support from countries that are hostile towards Israel, mainly Iran. Using the classification of state support to subversive terrorist organizations by Martin (2006: 126), we can say that the support that flows from Iran to Hezbollah now is moral (political sympathies) and technical (logistics), sometimes even informational (intelligence) (Wurmser 2007).

In order to formulate a counter-terrorism policy, any decision maker must first define the goal of the war against terrorism. Basically, there are 3 main objectives that might underlie a nation's counter-terrorism policy: eliminating terrorism, minimizing damage caused by terrorism, and preventing the escalation of terrorism. They could be configured in a pyramid (see figure 2.1), which reflects the goal's general outlines and scope - the higher up one goes

on the pyramid the more comprehensive the nation's counter-terrorism goals become. This structure also reflects the premise that if the goal is located closer to the apex of the pyramid, it usually encompasses the goals on the lower levels as well, plus every goal is comprised of a group of several sub-goals, which you can see in figure 2.1. (Ganor 2008: 25) The lack of a theoretical framework, however, calls for governments to ensure that policies are developed in a way that allows for flexibility in action and decision-making (Ganor 2008: 45).

The goals of Israel's counter-terrorism policy and how they changed over time will be discussed later on in chapter four, in which the author will concentrate on the formation of Israeli counter-terrorism strategy in response to the developing trends in Palestinian terrorism.

2.2 Hard power vs. soft power perspective

The theoretical framework of the hard vs. soft power approach is based on the book by Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde *"Security: A New Framework for Analysis"* (2005), in which they presented the broader concept of security dividing it into five different sectors. For the purposes of this thesis, the military sector is considered a hard power approach while the other four sectors comprise a soft power approach. As relevant sectors of the soft power approach, the social and political sectors will be used.

Terrorism is a political-military action that requires simultaneous use of military means together with state-political-economic measures. Therefore, we have to ask how dominant should be the military component within the counter-terrorism policy. The level of dominance a government assigns to the military component of its counter-terrorism policy directly results from its attitude towards the phenomenon. This attitude is presented by three different schools of thought. (Ganor 2008: 38)

The following studies used for laying out the basis for the theoretical framework of this thesis were chosen and quoted from the project *"Theoretical Treatise on Counter-Terrorism Approaches"* (2006) financed by the European Commission. The literature reviewed in this report took elements from a number of academic fields in an effort to present a broad view of theories and notions that have continuously contributed to counterterrorism research. (Theoretical Treatise 2007: 3)

The first school of thought prefers carrying out military actions against terrorist organizations (Ganor 2008: 38), which is analyzed by Malvesti (2002), former terrorism analyst at the US Department of Defense, in her study *"Bombing bin Laden: Assessing the Effectiveness of Air Strikes as a Counter-Terrorism Strategy"*. She presents a strategic evaluation of the United States' use of military air-strikes as a counterterrorism strategy.

Analyzing the circumstances leading up to and following three case studies, Libya in 1986, Iraq in 1993, and Sudan and Afghanistan in 1998, Malvesti concludes that experience has revealed that *"this option is a blunt, ineffective instrument that creates a cycle of vengeance"*. Nevertheless, she comes with two objectives for this counter-terrorism policy: 1) countering and deterring current threats (prevention); and 2) holding terrorists accountable for their actions (accountability) (2002: 17-18). According to the analysis, none of the air strikes prevented further acts of terrorism, in fact, rather than thwarting the ability or intent of the perpetrators, in two of the three cases the US raid seemed to perpetuate the hostilities (2002: 20-22).

The second school of thought opposes military action and sees it as an inducement that escalates and exacerbates terrorism (Ganor 2008: 38). As the opposite of military action we can see conciliation strategy even though it is often considered to be a sign of weakness in the current discourse (Theoretical Treatise 2010:14). In his article "*Conciliation as Counter-Terrorist Strategy*" (1995), Peter Sederberg based his arguments for this strategy on the notion that if terrorism is just one of the tactics available to a challenger group engaged in a political struggle, then negotiation and possibility of conciliation should be regarded as an option within a wider political context of countering terrorism (1995: 295). Sederberg further argues that governments have historically engaged in various forms of conciliation (e.g. ransom payments for the release of hostages) with groups that have used terrorism to attain their goals (1995: 295-6). In October 2011, even Israel gave in to a prisoner exchange when it offered to release 1027 Palestinian prisoners convicted of terrorism in exchange for the kidnapped IDF soldier Gilad Shalit who had been held captive in the Gaza strip for 5 years (Ravid, Issacharoff, Khoury, 2011). Factors that affect the success of a conciliation strategy include the insistence on clarifying the context for discussion, shifting rhetoric to contribute to differentiating the act of terrorism from the actor and terrorist tactics from other forms of violence used in political struggle, and the notion of time because *"what works over the short run, may not work over the longer term, and vice versa"*. (Sederberg 1995: 299)

Sederberg presumes that given the evidence of successful ending or curtailing terrorist incidents with short-term concessions, *"long-term concessions may contribute to either the transformation or the disintegration of the challenger"*. This approach, however, is largely shaped by the ideological character of the terrorist group. Quoting Bruce Hoffman (1988) Sederberg highlights that "*religiously motivated challengers are more likely to view their struggle in totalistic terms and resist utilitarian calculations in their political decision-making*"*, whereas secular desire for greater autonomy within the established political

community offers greater promise for a conciliatory strategy of transformation. Members of a challenger movement may hold their ideological positions neither consistently nor sincerely. A *"lack of sincerity opens possibilities for political transformation"* and a *"lack of consistency creates openings to promote disintegration through defections"*. (Sederberg, 1995: 305-308)

Between these two attitudes, there is a third approach, which maintains that military action and state-political action must be combined in order to form a unified policy that strives to eliminate the problem (Ganor: 2008: 38). The employment of either of these approaches largely depends on a government's view of terrorism. Those who consider terrorism as a form of warfare (Israel) often engage in repressive responses and base their counter-terrorism strategy on the army. In contrast, those who view terrorism as a crime (European Union) may support more legal solutions like conciliation and base their strategy on the police force. (Theoretical Treatise, 2007: 16)

Chapter Three:

The developments of trends in Palestinian terrorism

3.1 Brief history of Palestinian terrorism until the First Intifada

Acts of violence against the Jewish population in British-mandated Palestine (the Yishuv) started already after the Balfour Declaration, which on November 17, 1917, established the right of Jews to a national home and stimulated Jewish immigration to Palestine. This violence was motivated rather by denying Zionists' aspirations than promoting Palestinian national goals. (Alon 1980: 7-8)

This goal disappeared once the state of Israel was declared on May 14, 1948, and a major refugee wave escaped to the neighboring Arab states where they started building Palestinian political structures. At this stage, no Palestinian national aspirations and goals were involved because Palestinians still lacked both leadership and organization. The biggest challenge to Israel was posed by the groups of fedayeen (Arabic word for "those who sacrifice") organized and run by the intelligence services of supportive Arab countries, most notably Egypt. In the 1950s, they infiltrated Israeli borders from Jordan (to the West Bank) and Egypt (to the Gaza Strip) in order to attack isolated settlements and ambush vehicles on the roads. The Sinai war brought the fedayeen attacks to an end but soon afterwards, terrorism began to appear in other locations. (Alon 1980: 7; Pedahzur 2010: 36-41)

It did not take long before not just settlements on the periphery of Israel were vulnerable to attacks but also the Israeli capital was at risk[2]. Fatah[3] quickly became the leader of the Palestinian struggle and main perpetrator of terror attacks in the 1960s even though not for long. Shortly after its establishment, competing organizations such as the Palestine Liberation

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[2] At night on October 7, 1966, Fatah members hid explosives at the entrances of several buildings on Gadera Street in the Romema neighborhood of Jerusalem injuring seven residents and severely damaging many apartments. (Pedahzur 2010: 43)

[3] Fatah (Arabic for "conquest" is a reverse acronym of *Harakat at-Tahrir al Watani al-Filistini* – Palestine National Liberation Movement) was formed during the mid-1950s, but made its existence known only in the fall of 1959, although not openly under its own name. Fatah was a strong proponent of small-scale operations, rather than conventional warfare, as a means to "liberate Palestine." Arab governments were opposed to Fatah with the exception of Syria, contacts with which intensified the development of the idea of popular armed struggle, both as a means for mobilizing the Palestinians and as a way of forcing the other Arab regimes to follow the lead of Palestinians in regaining Palestine. The Syrians also enabled Fatah to set up its headquarters in Damascus and provided them with training facilities, weapons and financial assistance. (Alon 21-22)

Organization[4] (PLO) appeared which affected the Palestinian struggle for decades. The tension between Fatah and the PLO calmed down only four years after the establishment of the PLO when Yasser Arafat and his Fatah supporters took control of the PLO and converted it into an umbrella organization for most Palestinian groups that emerged at that time. (Pedahzur 2010: 43-45) Although the PLO was established under the auspices of Egypt as the "official" voice of the Palestinians in the hope that they would abandon their semi-military efforts, the Egyptians organized a military component within the PLO, the Palestinian Liberation Army (PLA), with a conventional force structure, equipped and trained by Egypt (Alon 1980: 21).

Between 1968 and 1970, Palestinians intensified their activities on Israeli-Jordanian border; more than 140 attacks were initiated mostly by small cells that crossed the border and ambushed IDF forces, or infiltrated Jewish settlements, and perpetrated gunfire attacks or planted explosives. But after the Black September[5], the fighters who survived crossed the border into Syria and continued to southern Lebanon where they eventually rehabilitated their military infrastructure. In the wake of these events, Fatah formed an unofficial terrorist arm Black September Organization (BSO). After the expulsion of the PLO headquarters from Jordan, the main arenas of operation for the organization were Western Europe and Arab countries. In the meantime, the Gaza Strip became another major source of concern. In the first three years after the 1967 war, local Palestinians initiated more than sixty terrorist attacks there. (Pedahzur 2010: 46-48)

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[4] Establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was fully supported by the Egyptian President Nasser but on the other hand it met with resistance from the Jordanian King Hussein. Since 1948, there was substantial number of Palestinian refugees residing in Jordan and King Hussein was afraid of their separatist tendencies. Furthermore, Egypt and Jordan were traditional rivals and to certain extent, PLO was supposed to become a tool of Egyptian politics against Jordan. However up until the Six Day War, the PLO in its totality was not very strong which only changed when Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Fatah, became its chairman in 1969. Under his leadership the influence of the umbrella organization increased and the organization also broke free from the domination of Egypt. (Čejka 2007:102-103)

[5] The Palestinians' attempt to assassinate Jordanian King Hussein on September 1, 1970, and the hijacking of three passenger jets and their forced landing at the Zarqa Airport against his explicit orders six days later, ultimately led the king to dispatch his army on a wide-spread campaign against Palestinian fighters who had gained control of Amman's streets. Jordanian Legion soldiers raided Fatah bases and Palestinian refugee. Two and a half weeks into the Jordanian campaign, Syrian ground forces crossed Jordan's northern border in order to force a stop to the fighting against the Palestinians; however, Israel sent fighter jets on warning flights over the presidential palace in Damascus to help Jordan which signaled the Syrian President Hafez al-Assad that it was time to withdraw. By the end of the Black September, more than 3,000 Palestinians had been killed and more than ten thousand had been wounded. (Pedahzur 2010: 33-34)

In the late 1960s, Palestinian groups realized the potential of the psychological impact of media and started effectively asserting their political agenda on television. The organizations understood the great effect of a well-designed attack and how it was able to attract a mass audience all over the world while not necessarily requiring a high number of victims. Their attacks made use of what scholars termed the tools of a "theater of terror". The most prominent manifestation of this theater of terror was the wave of altogether 16 airplane hijackings, successful and attempted, from 1968 to 1976. Another method used for operations against aviation targets was attacking ground offices of El Al, Israel's national airline, in international airports. Even though Palestinian terrorism abroad represented only 2.6% of the total number of Palestinian operations from 1968 to 1978, transnational Palestinian terrorism had the largest effect on both international and domestic public opinion. At the same time, the Palestinian terrorist groups began to take advantage of their ability to move with relative ease from country to country and forge alliances with terrorist groups from other areas in the world[6]. (Alon 1980: 51-52; Pedahzur 2010: 49-51)

But the biggest use of the theater of terror was made by eight terrorists from BSO who took hostage 9 members of the Israeli athletic delegation[7] to the Olympic Games in Munich on September 5, 1972. The whole time, every major media outlet was broadcasting any new development of the situation live, which also thwarted the first attempt for a rescue operation in the Olympic village prepared by the German police as the terrorists were watching the live broadcast inside the building. When Israel launched the retaliation operation for the Munich attack in an attempt to damage Fatah's operational mechanisms it encountered a series of worldwide reprisal attacks against Israeli targets after almost every one of the assassinations (see figure 3.1) (Pedahzur 2010: 55).

In the early 1970s, the threat from the northern border became pressing. With the help of the residents of Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon, Arafat and his people had became a significant military force in the region. They established a paramilitary force consisting of three infantry brigades. Despite all Israeli efforts, the Palestinian attacks on

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[6] Among these were national-liberation organizations such as the Irish Republican Army, Basque underground (ETA), as well as radical left-wing groups such as the Red Brigades, Action Directe, Red Army Faction, and the Japanese Red Army (Pedahzur 2010: 51).

[7] Eight members of the BSO took hostage 9 Israeli athletes while killing other two in the process and in exchange for the release of the hostages demanded the liberation of more than two hundred Palestinians incarcerated in Israeli prisons, as well as two more prisoners who were being held by the Germans. However, the rescue operation prepared by the German police at Furstenfeld military airport, where were the terrorists with hostages transported to board a plane, was a total failure resulting in killing of all the athletes and five of the terrorists. (Pedahzur 2010: 53)

Israeli population centers continued to increase. After IDF forces invaded Lebanon in 1978, Fatah returned to striking northern Israeli communities with Katyusha missiles, which it did already in late 1960s. Fatah forces intensified Katyusha missile attacks against Israeli settlements from May to June 1981. Cease-fire agreement from June 1981 resulted in some decline in the violence in northern Israel but intensified Fatah's terrorist campaign against Israeli targets world-wide. Between May 1981 and June 1982, Fatah conducted nine attacks on Israeli targets mostly against Israeli diplomats and Jewish community centers, which finally led to the launch of Operation Peace for Galilee on June 6, 1982, that marked the beginning of the Lebanon war. (Pedahzur 2010: 66-67)

3.2 From the First to the Second Intifada: Hamas' emergence as the key terrorist group in Israel

While Hezbollah was establishing itself in Lebanon, political changes were taking place also in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Young activists who had been born and raised under the Israeli occupation were filling the upper ranks of the leadership of the Palestinian national struggle and finally refused to accept the authority of the PLO leadership in Tunis, which resulted in the First Intifada that broke out on December 9, 1987. Hamas initiated a process similar to that which had taken place in Lebanon a few years earlier. It took advantage of the smokescreen created by the event of the intifada to tighten its hold on Palestinian society, mainly by providing welfare services, for which there was an ever-growing demand. (Pedahzur 2010: 81)

As a result, 415 Hamas members were taken by the Shin Bet across the border to Lebanon in December 1992. Israel hoped that this would break the organization's backbone and root out the revolutionary Islamic threat from the Palestinian political arena. But these hopes came in vain when the Lebanese government refused to accept the deportees into its territory and left them in a tent encampment near the village of Marj al-Zuhur. This decision gave the Hamas members an opportunity to use the psychological effect of media to their advantage once again as the world attention focused on the plight of the deportees struggling against the harsh Lebanese winter. While world coverage granted the Hamas activists moral support, various organizations, primarily Hezbollah, provided for their material needs. Strong ties developed between the deportees and the members of supportive organizations despite the ideological gap between Hamas and Hezbollah - the former being Sunni and the latter Shiite. Hezbollah shared both its military know-how and vast experience it had accumulated in establishing a multifaceted political organization. One year after the expulsion, heavy

American pressure on Israel resulted in the gradual repatriation of the deportees to the territories under the Palestinian Authority (PA). (Pedahzur 2010: 94-95)

The hope for peace that emerged after the First Intifada with the signing of the Oslo Accords was shattered shortly afterwards with the appearance of suicide-bomber attacks carried out by the Palestinian Islamic opposition movement making the struggle against terrorism more complicated than ever. (Pedahzur 2010: 110) The Second Intifada also known as Al-Aqsa Intifada was sparked by Ariel Sharon's speech on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem in September 2000 and the violence soon spread throughout Palestinian territories and into Israel (see figure 3.2 to look at the high increase in number of terrorist attacks in 2000). The Second Intifada differed in much greater degree of violence and higher numbers of casualties on both sides. In contrast to the First Intifada, during which Palestinians used mainly stones, Molotov cocktails, or small-arms, the weapons used during the Second Intifada were much more sophisticated. Existing suicide weapons - explosive belts – were perfected, which soon resulted in a bloody campaign in public spaces around Israel. The most brutal attacks were mostly orchestrated by Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. (Čejka 2007: 213, 220) Other types of weapons included Qassam missiles filled with explosives fired from the Gaza Strip to nearby Israeli settlements and also mines and remote-controlled underground improvised explosive devices (IEDs) that cost Israel lives of soldiers not only in armored vehicles but also in the state-of-the-art Merkava tanks. For the first time, the perpetrators of suicide attacks were also women and children. Some researchers argue that the Second Intifada ended by the decease of Yasser Arafat in autumn of 2004 or by the truce declared at the Sharm ash-Shaykh summit but mutual Israeli-Palestinian violence continued also during 2005 even though with lower intensity (Čejka 2007: 213, 220). As a result of the Israeli military operation in the West Bank, the situation in Palestinian territories eventually started calming down during 2005.

However, the generally calm conditions did not last for long as the situation on the northern Israeli border started deteriorating in the first half of 2006. After a relatively quiet although tense and volatile period following the withdrawal of the IDF from southern Lebanon in 2000, the ceasefire was breached with exchanges of heavy fire across the Blue Line at the beginning of February and at the end of May. On July 12, 2006, hostilities broke out across the Blue Line when Hezbollah guerillas killed eight IDF soldiers and kidnapped two in a cross-border raid and simultaneously fired Katyusha rockets against Israel. At a press conference after the 12 July attack, Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah Secretary-General, presented his list of ransom demands for the release of the abducted Israeli soldiers. It included a

demand for the release of Hamas inmates as well as members of Hezbollah, which was considered an indication of the fact that the level of coordination of these two groups was not just ideological but operational too. On August 14, 2006, he declared victory over Israel during an interview on Hezbollah's al-Manar television channel. He vowed never to disarm and never to give up the disputed Shebaa Farms region near the Lebanese-Israeli border. (globalsecurity.org: Operation Change of Direction) During the 34 days of the war, Hezbollah fired 3,990 Katyusha rockets at Israeli population centers forcing a third of Israel's population to flee their houses (Zeev 2008: 621).

After the Second Intifada, missiles became the most used weapon in the hands of terrorist groups. In 2008, Hamas dramatically increased the extent of rocket fire and mortar attacks on Israel with a total of 3,278 rockets and mortar shells landing in Israeli territory. This number was double that of 2007 and 2006, the years, which marked a five-fold increase over prior years. Not only the number of attacks rose, but also the range of the rockets extended significantly, increasing the number of Israeli residents exposed to the rocket fire. The rocket and mortar shell fire finally culminated prior and following the expiration of the agreed period of truce with Israel on December 19, 2008. During Operation Cast Lead, Hamas already had an unidentified rocket with a 40 kilometer range at its disposal enabling Hamas to strike Ashdod and Beersheba. This rocket created a new reality, in which nearly one million Israeli residents – about 15 percent of the entire population - were at risk (Global Security: HAMAS rockets, Operation Cast Lead).

3.3 Hamas as a key Palestinian terrorist group

Hamas was officially founded on December 14, 1987, in response to the outbreak of the First Intifada but it was originally established in 1967 as the Palestinian wing of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, which Hamas also acknowledges in its April 1988 charter that however decidedly moved Hamas away from the Muslim Brotherhood's ethos of nonviolence. (Levitt, Ross 2007: 8) Adhering to the practices of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas is active in charity to support poor Palestinian population[8] and unlike the official Palestinian structures,

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[8] Dawa organizations are formed as local charities, non-governmental organizations, or private voluntary organizations and play important communal role in Islamic history and culture. Dawa is defined as "militant preaching" and is more significant cause of militant behavior than is strictly political training. Among Muslim militants, "preaching is the instrument of the march to power". However, there is nothing inherently violent or antisocial about dawa activities, per se. (Levitt, Ross 2007: 18-19)

Nevertheless, a Tel Aviv University study of Palestinian suicide bombers revealed the critical role played by the dawa in pushing frustrated Palestinians over the homicide-suicide edge. Researchers Shaul Kimhe

the civil wing of Hamas is much less corrupted and therefore much more popular among a major part of Palestinians especially in the Gaza Strip (Čejka, 2007: 173).

The militant wing of the organization is called Izz ad-Din al-Qassam, in short Qassam Brigades. They were created in 1992 under the direction of Yahya Ayyash with the primary objective of building a coherent military organization to support the goals of Hamas. (Masters 2012) Since the outset of the Second Intifada, no other Palestinian group has executed as many suicide attacks, or generated as many casualties among Israelis as Hamas, in particular Qassam Brigades (Moghadam 2003: 77). The fact that Hamas does not differentiate between Israeli security forces and civilians as in their opinion *"virtually all Israelis including women serve in the occupation army"* (Čejka 2007: 173) contributed to Qassam Brigades being listed as a terrorist organization by the European Union (Official Journal of European Union 2005) and the United States (US Department of State 2005).

If Hamas has one supreme objective, it is to mutate the essentially ethno-political Palestinian national struggle into a fundamentally religious conflict. Accomplishing this goal entails transforming Palestinian society – a relatively secular culture compared with other Muslim societies in the Arab world – into a more religiously zealous and politically strident one. Unfortunately, Palestinians live in an environment that by its very nature creates social preconditions that Hamas is able to use to its advantage in its radicalization campaign. (Levitt, Ross 2007)

Nowadays, Hamas is the largest and most influential Palestinian movement. In January 2006, the group won the PA's general legislative elections, defeating Fatah, the party of the PA's President Mahmoud Abbas, thus setting the stage for power struggle. Since attaining power, Hamas has continued its refusal to recognize the state of Israel, which led to crippling economic sanctions (Masters 2012).

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and Shmuel Even discovered as a result of their primary findings that every type of the potential terrorist requires *"a social environment that is supportive of such an attack; media that disseminates the information among the supportive population; spiritual leadership that encourages such attacks; and financial and social assistance for families of suicide terrorists after their deaths"*. Together, these conditions create a *"comprehensive social environment [that] may be referred to as the 'culture of suicide terrorists' that has been created within Palestinian society."* (Levitt, Ross 2007: 108)

Chapter Four: The formation of Israeli counter-terrorism strategy in response to the developing trends in Palestinian terrorism

Since the day of the Declaration of Independence in 1948, Israel has been plagued by terrorism. Though it has never declared a war on terror or even developed a coherent doctrine for coping with the challenge, both policymakers and the heads of the security establishment have perceived terrorism as an act of war and have thus continuously applied a war model as the major route of response. (Pedahzur 2010: 135)

Successive Israeli governments have set various goals as a basis for their counter-terrorism policies according to political distinctions between them and their different attitudes towards the threat of terrorism. Even though Israeli decision makers defined different goals for the war against terrorism most of them chose to highlight the limitations of counter-terrorism objectives and refrained from defining more far-reaching goals such as eliminating or defeating terrorism. (Ganor 2008: 27)

Already before the State of Israel was established, the Jewish Yishuv had not counted on the British mandatory government to counter Arab violence. Therefore in 1920, the Hagana ("Defense") organization was established. Initially in the 1920s, its measures were mainly defensive but as incidents of Arab violence increased, an offensive strategy was adopted in the 1936-38 period finally resulting in creation of the Palmach (Hebrew acronym for strike companies), the offensive arm of the Hagana. (Alon 1980: 8)

After the establishment of the State of Israel, the major part of Palestinian political structures began to develop outside Israeli borders. These structures compelled Israeli intelligence organizations to invest much greater efforts abroad than locally. After the fedayeen infiltrated Israeli borders in 1950s, Israeli leadership was forced to formulate a counter-terrorism strategy and instructed military intelligence to find ways for coping with this challenge. On August 5, 1953, as the initial signs of the escalation of fedayeen terrorist attacks appeared, the IDF created without any previous planning its first counter-terrorism force – the Unit ror. The militia nature of the Unit ror enabled the political echelons to deny the fact that the commando operations were in fact carried out by IDF soldiers. Due to criticism of the operation in the Qibya village[9] in Samaria on October 14, 1953, Unit ror was

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[9] Operation at the **Qibya village** was a raid carried out in retaliation for the murder of members of the Kanias family by infiltrators. Strike team consisting of a platoon of Unit ror and two and a half Paratrooper platoons overpowered the village after 4 hours of heavy fighting. A number of buildings in the center of the town were selected to be sabotaged but hurrying, the soldiers did not check to see if the building has been vacated. Next

disbanded and incorporated into the Paratroopers Brigade. The unit did not succeed in reducing the level of fedayeen terrorism (see figure 4.1) and after it was dismantled Palestinian violence continued in full force. To some degree as a response to the attacks by fedayeen squads, Israel initiated the Sinai War on October 29, 1956. After the Sinai War, Israel had no explicit counter-terrorism doctrine but its actions in the first decade after the establishment of the state, which included military offensives as well as assassinations in retaliation to terrorism, indicated a consistent clear tendency toward the war model. (Pedahzur 2010:25-29)

After the 1967 war, new security challenges started to emerge. Just two years earlier, Israel ended its military control over the 150,000 Palestinians who remained inside its borders after the 1948 war and suddenly, it ruled over a much larger area and the Palestinian population that was then three times the size of the Israeli-Palestinian one. As a result, the need to prevent the emerging terrorist activities from this new, hostile population became a major objective on the agenda of the Israeli security establishment. The Israeli response to Palestinian attacks was a mixture of retaliatory attacks inside Jordan and the implementation of a defensive model inside Israeli territory[10]. (Pedahzur 2010: 31, 46)

While the Shin Bet and the IDF focused on Israeli Palestinian citizens and residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Mossad was contending with a much more complex challenge – gathering intelligence in areas outside of Israel's control. The wave of airplane hijackings from 1968 to 1976 deeply affected Israel's policy in its struggle with terrorism. Israel's immediate response was the introduction of armed sky marshals - trained by the Shin Bet - on board of all flights of El Al and this tactic proved quite effective. (Pedahzur 2010: 52) As a result of the attack on Lod Airport in Israel on May 30, 1972, by the Japanese Red Army that forged alliance with the Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine (BBC 1972), new increased security procedures[11] were introduced under the supervision of the Shin Bet at the Israel's international airport.

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day, it became apparent that 69 Palestinians were killed, half of them elderly people, women and children. (Pedahzur 2010: 25)

[10] The defensive model consisted of frequent patrols along the Jordanian border and the mounting of observation posts to prevent terrorists from penetrating the West Bank. The IDF also established a new unit (Unit 299) which function was to take action against the cells that succeeded in crossing the border. (Pedahzur 2010: 46)

[11] New security measures at the Israel's international airport included metal detectors, X-ray machines for baggage and passenger inspection, surveillance cameras and pressure chambers for luggage to trigger any possible explosive devices. Several security measures were also established outside the terminal: all vehicles entering the airport complex had to go through a preliminary security checkpoint; armed personnel patrolled the

In the long run, Israel responded to these developments in Palestinian terrorism in three ways. Firstly, the government made a decision not to surrender to the demands of terrorists holding hostages or prisoners of war. Secondly, military units began training for hostage rescue missions, and thirdly, the Shin Bet instituted strict security procedures on El Al planes and at airports that dispatched flights to Israel. The last proved to be the most influential factor in reducing aviation terrorism. However, Israel did not limit its response solely to defensive measures and reintroduced its use of war model in the form of retaliation operations. (Pedahzur 2010: 50-52)

The retaliation strategy fully developed after the attack on the Israeli athletic delegation to the Munich Olympics in 1972. The first assassination of Operation Wrath of God that was authorized by the then Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir was carried out less than two months later. However, the outcomes of Operation Wrath of God were problematic. The operation undermined Israel's intelligence capabilities. Palestinian counter-intelligence worked hard and successfully to strike at European-based Mossad intelligence-gathering officers and their informants. The operation ended de facto on July 21, 1973, with a failure[12] that had a far-reaching international effect. (Pedahzur 2010: 55)

Operation Wrath of God opened a political discussion on what is the achievable ultimate goal of a counter-terrorism policy and what are the means to achieve it. The former head of Aman (from 1964 to 1972) and Golda Meir's advisor on counter terrorism, Aharon Yariv, said that in his view, the desired goal of counter-terrorism policy is naturally putting a stop to terrorist activities, but since the roots of Palestinian terrorism and its aims are political, it is impossible to eliminate Palestinian terrorism solely by military means, because this requires severe measures that would not meet internal and international legal and political restrictions. In spite of this, the main efforts of Israel's war against terrorism in the 1970s and 1980s were expended in military actions against terrorist organizations and their supporters in various spheres, particularly in Lebanon and the West Bank. (Ganor 2008: 39)

On June 6, 1982, Israel used an assassination attempt on the Israeli ambassador to the United Kingdom Shlomo Argov to justify a wide-scale invasion of southern Lebanon. The declared objective of the campaign was to eliminate the Palestinian terrorist infrastructure in

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area outside the airport buildings; armed security personnel were stationed at the terminal entrances; and security personnel were stationed inside the terminal. (Pedahzur 2010: 52)

[12] A team of the Mossad agents had mistaken an Algerian-born waiter Ahmed Bouchiki for the head of the BSO, Ali Hassan Salameh, and shot him dead. Moreover, the Mossad agents were caught as they returned the rented car to the airport (Pedahzur 2010: 55).

southern Lebanon according to the Oranim Plan[13]. Contrary to expectations, the expulsion of the PLO forces from southern Lebanon to Tunis did not diminish the threat of terrorism to the settlements in northern Israel because in place of the PLO, Hezbollah had emerged right in the arena, on which the Israeli intelligence community had largely concentrated but due to interagency feuding in this arena - especially between Aman and the Shin Bet - Israel's attempts to cope with the threat impaired. (Pedahzur 2010: 80-84)

On the eve of the war in Lebanon and in its early stages, the considerations that characterized many of Israel's policymakers in the counter-terrorism field were reflected in the response given by Rafi Eitan, the counter-terrorism advisor to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, to the question whether terrorism could be eliminated via military means, *"First of all, the answer is affirmative. It depends on what you are up against. If you take the history of terrorism in the world, the answer is affirmative. All of the organizations that arose in the fifties, the sixties and a few in the seventies – were eliminated by force."* But as to the goals of the counter-terrorism strategy, he says, *"First of all, prevention…second of all, prevention via counter measures."* (Ganor 2008: 27, 39)

Following the war in Lebanon, the declared goal of Israel's counter-terrorism policy changed from eliminating terrorism to reducing the dimensions of the phenomenon and its ensuing damage. The First Intifada in the end of 1980s led to a further devaluation in the importance of the military component as part of Israel's counter-terrorism policy, and the political and security echelons came to a realization that eliminating terrorism through military means is in fact not possible. Although the former head of the Shin Bet, Carmi Gilon, does not accept the claim that the change regarding the dominance of the military component took place specifically in the wake of the First Intifada: *"For many years the Israel Security Agency – as a professional body – was of the opinion that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict had no military solution. There are those who feel this belief is the result of the intifada, but that isn't the case. To the best of my knowledge."*

Between the years 1983 to 1992, Israel carried out various offensive activities including several large-scale operations and continued to invest money and human resources in defensive activities as well. These activities were carried out both routinely and as preventive and retaliatory measures. In hostage situations, current governments continued the policies of their predecessors; when a military solution was not viable they were ready to

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[13] Oranim Plan was a detailed scheme for an Israeli invasion of Lebanon and for the elimination of the entire Palestinian terrorism infrastructure devised during 1981 when the situation in southern Lebanon was very tense for few years already (Pedahzur 2010: 80).

make the needed concessions to the terrorists[14]. In terms of political negotiations with Palestinian terrorist organizations, Shamir's governments and the unity governments[15] upheld and even radicalized their predecessors' hard line in regard to no negotiating with terrorist organizations. This philosophy was even put down in a law that forbade any communication with PLO representatives. (Ganor 2002)

During the First Intifada, the Shin Bet had to cope with violent riots in various towns and villages. Thus, instead of the familiar, organized Palestinian enemy, the security establishment was now faced again with local gangs and amorphous social networks whose surveillance and penetration required intensive human intelligence (HUMINT) resources. The Shin Bet, whose main efforts were concentrated on dealing with the popular uprising, had to make do with remote surveillance of Hamas. However, due to Israel's tight control over the Palestinian territories, the Hamas leadership was eventually identified and charted relatively swiftly. Concurrently, the HUMINT gathering process concerning the people in charge of the Hamas movement and its operating methods was also intensified. (Pedahzur 2010: 94-95) The goal of counter-terrorism strategies of both the Shin Beth and the Mossad during the First Intifada was to eliminate terrorism even though in both agencies, there was a widespread belief - although from different reasons - that it is not possible in current conditions.

The former head of the Shin Bet, Yaakov Peri, expressed the opinions of the agency saying, *"A definition we have always used [is] ... to eliminate terrorism, to achieve its destruction... everyone knew the truth, that in a proper and effective war we could minimize, but a total solution was impossible."* On the other hand, the former head of the Mossad, Shabtai Shavit, believes that terrorism can be wiped out using offensive means, but the international climate does not allow Israel to do so. He described the goals of the counter-terrorism strategy during his tenure as the head of the Mossad in this way: *"The hope, and not*

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[14] This was shown in the so called "Jibril Deal" on May 20, 1985, when the national unity government freed 1,150 Palestinian prisoners held in Israel for three soldiers taken hostage by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command, led by Ahmed Jibril. The number of terrorists who were released from prison, the severity of the crimes they had committed, and the government's willingness to allow them to return to territories controlled by Israel were all unparalleled. (Ganor 2002)

[15] The Israeli unity government took office in 1984 when Shimon Peres' Labor Alignment and Yitzhak Shamir's Likud achieved near-parity in 1984 elections, acquiring with their sworn allies 54 seats for each bloc. A Knesset majority would require 61 seats, but the remaining twelve seats occupied by smaller parties, who were not sworn to either bloc, were unreachable for the filling of the seven seats either bloc would have needed for majority government. Therefore, Labor and Likud were forced into the most fractious unity government Israel had yet seen and arrived at this solution: For the first two years of the 11th Knesset's four-year term, Labor would run the Prime Minister's office and the Likud would control the Foreign Ministry and at the midpoint of the term, in 1986, the parties would switch. (McCarthy 2002: 25-27)

necessarily at the level of a formal declaration of objectives, but our hope was to exterminate terrorism. We learned and understood that it is really impossible to exterminate terrorism, so the hope – and if you prefer you can call it a strategic goal – was to reduce as much as possible the capability for terrorism and its impact.” (Ganor 2008: 28)

The Oslo Accords and the establishment of the autonomous PA made it necessary for Israel to formulate a new counter-terrorist infrastructure. The policy of Yitzhak Rabin's government dissociated the peace process from reactions to terrorist attacks against Israel; the peace process continued even after mass-casualty attacks in Israel, and counter-terrorist activity persisted regardless of the formal and informal restrictions imposed by the peace process. This disjunction between the peace process and counter-terrorist activities served also as a counter-incentive for the PA to destroy the Hamas' terrorist infrastructure or even to pressure the organization to refrain from carrying out attacks on Israeli soil. The policy followed by Israel during this period completely failed. As not to jeopardize the peace process, counter-terrorist warfare was subjected to a long list of restrictions – some of which were imposed by agreements signed with the Palestinians, while others were the result of self-restraint. On the operative level, Israel's governments continued to launch attacks against terrorist organizations, particularly targeting leaders and prominent operatives. (Ganor 2002) Also, special attempts were made to reinforce security, in order to balance the loss of intelligence sources after Israel had withdrawn from urban areas in the Territories (Ganor 2008: 53).

It was during this period that terrorism's effect on public morale in Israel was at its peak, and influenced political views and processes in Israel both directly and indirectly. One of the changes prompted in this way was the attitude of decision makers in Israel toward terrorism as a strategic problem, rather than merely a tactical one. (Ganor 2002) Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, the then Chief-of-Staff, stated that *“Israel's goal, was firstly, to reduce the damage to the smallest possible minimum, and hurt them to the maximum.”* The Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, set the bar in the fight against terrorism higher saying *“Systematic weakening of Arab terrorism until it has been reduced and suppressed must be ... the main goal of Israel's policy. Any agreement that Israel makes with the Arabs must be adapted to this goal. It must lead to a reduction of terrorism, and not its intensification.”* As an adherent of the hard line, he does not ignore the possibility of destroying terrorism using military means. When asked in an interview whether it is possible to eliminate terrorism via military means, Netanyahu answered, *“Why not? Certainly, you have to ask whether you can*

eliminate crime using the police. No one would consider asking such a question on criminal issues…" (Ganor 2008: 28)

At a government meeting shortly before the 1999 elections, Meir Dagan, the head of the Counter-Terrorism Bureau, enumerated the accomplishments of Netanyahu's government in this field. Dagan attributed the improved results to heightened motivation on the part of the PA to curb terrorism, thanks to the pressure applied by Israel, which included a demand for reciprocity, threats of economic sanctions, and a threat to take away political accomplishments of the PA. The reduction was not only an outcome of Netanyahu's successful policy but it was also caused by the lack of motivation on the part of terrorist organizations to carry out attacks during this time as these groups realized that the peace process was heading for deadlock anyway, and therefore they felt no need to waste resources on terror attacks to impede a process that was already effectively bogged down. Unlike his predecessors, who advocated separation between the political avenue and counter-terrorist warfare, Netanyahu not only stressed that the two were intertwined, but also tried to use the political channel as an operative lever to prevent terrorism in Israel. (Ganor 2002)

In May 1999, Ehud Barak became Prime Minister and it soon became evident that he wanted to pursue the same course of policy that Rabin had; ending terrorism only together with achieving peace. He attempted to achieve this goal by pulling out of south Lebanon – which was occupied by the IDF since the 1982 war – in May 2000, and subsequently entered negotiations with the PA at Camp David in the US. However, Arafat walked out of the negotiations when he realized that Israel was not going to heed to UN resolution 242, concerning the return of the Palestinian refugees. (Jansen 2008: 60)

This fragility of the peace process and permanent tension caused by misjudged politics on both sides accumulated during the 1990s and finally lead to a full-scale terror campaign, the Second Intifada. The bloody suicide-bombing campaign in public spaces throughout Israel brought about a very difficult psychological situation for all Israeli citizens as it was permanently interfering with their daily routines. One of the most important measures adopted by Israel was the speed of the first response after a terror attack. It became of the utmost importance to get a scene of an attack back to normal as soon as possible.

Compared to the First Intifada, not just violence on the part of Palestinians but also Israeli counter-terrorism operations became more brutal. This time, Israel started openly pursuing policy of targeted killing (David 2002:1). After a terrorist attack was perpetrated in Israel, a similar scenario followed in most cases. The IDF struck selected Palestinian targets with heavy military machinery or alternatively occupied areas under Palestinian full political

and security administration (Zone A) with tanks, together with imposing a long-term curfew. (Čejka 2007: 220)

In September 2000, as the Second Intifada broke out, Barak resigned and Ariel Sharon, who supported the aggressive campaign against the PA, terror organizations, and the use of above mentioned methods, won the elections on February 6, 2001 (Jansen 2008: 60-61). In his own words, *"They must be beaten: the Palestinian Authority, its forces and the terrorists.... We have to cause them heavy casualties, and then they will know that they cannot keep using terror and win political achievements."* (Verter, Alon 2002)

The final impulse to launch a military operation in the territories under the PA was a suicide bombing at the Park Hotel in Netanya[16] on March 27, 2002 (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2002). After months of hesitation, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon ordered to send troops into West Bank cities and refugee camps despite army's misgivings[17]. Even though the methods used by the IDF were brutal, Operation Defensive Shield suppressed Palestinian terrorism, including Hamas and Fatah's deadly suicide bombings. Though its impact was not fully apparent until three years later, the operation restored normalcy on both sides of the Green Line. (Issacharoff, Harel 2012)

Despite a number of offensive measures, the most essential fact was that the terror campaign did not succeed to break the Israeli home front. The resistance of the home front was further supported by introduction of defensive measures. Only two weeks after Operation Defensive Shield was launched, Sharon announced that the government has decided to establish *"security buffer zones"* between Israel and the Palestinian territories and the construction of the border fence began two months later (Nofal 2002).

During this period, the goal of the counter-terrorism policy changed again and basically reduced as Meir Dagan, advisor to Prime Minister Sharon, simply put it *"To keep terrorism at a level that doesn't interfere with the public's daily lives."* Also Sharon's successor Shimon Peres described the goal of the counter-terrorism strategy similarly: *"To place a barrier between terrorism and its people."* (Ganor 2008: 27)

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[16] The attack happened during Passover Seder dinner when a member of the Qassam Brigades detonated a bomb in the dining room of the Park Hotel killing 30 mostly elderly citizens (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2002).

[17] Even though 133 Israelis were killed in terrorist attacks in the "terrible March" of 2002, the General Staff was apprehensive about reconquering the West Bank cities. Defense Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer was uneasy about expanding military activity, and Chief of Staff Shaul Mofaz, who generally took a hawkish line toward the Palestinians, hesitated for a long time. Some of the generals were more outspoken in their opposition. (Issacharoff, Harel 2012)

While Israeli decision-makers finally managed to reduce the violence during 2005 and the situation in the Palestinian Territories started to calm down, the situation on northern Israeli border started to become more escalated. The conditions created during the six years since Israel's total withdrawal from Lebanon prompted Israel to take action. Operation Change of Direction began by carrying out over 100 retaliation aerial attacks in Lebanon and then on July 13, 2006, the IDF ground operation followed. The operation was supposed to achieve two objectives for the defense of Israel's population - the removal of the Hezbollah terrorist and the missile threat, and the establishment of long-term stability along its northern border. The IDF was tasked to destroy Hezbollah's armaments and outposts. The second Lebanon War resulted in 1,500 Lebanese and 159 Israeli fatalities and about a million Lebanese was displaced. The IDF estimated that over 500 Hezbollah fighters were killed. However, despite the claims by Israeli politicians about significant accomplishments, the war was a fiasco which was a surprising outcome given that Israel had an overwhelming advantage in capabilities. (globalsecurity.org: Operation Change of Direction; Zeev 2008: 621-622)

Just two years after the invasion of Lebanon on December 27, 2008, Israel launched Operation Cast Lead in response to the sharp increase in number and frequency of rocket attacks into Israel from Gaza. The Israeli Air Force initially carried out airstrikes against Hamas terrorist infrastructure as well as rocket and mortar launching units, and ground operations followed on January 3, 2009, as the continued reliance on aerial strikes alone – in light of Hamas' tactic of taking cover within the densely populated areas of Gaza – would have likely resulted in significant numbers of Palestinian civilian casualties. Ground forces entered the Gaza Strip with naval and air support. The operation ended on January 17, 2009, (after 22 days) with Israel's implementation of a unilateral ceasefire. The IDF withdrawal from the Gaza Strip was completed on January 21, 2009. (Global Security: Operation Cast Lead) Operation Cast Lead was the biggest Israeli operation in the Gaza Strip in four decades (Al-Mughrabi 2009). The operation was demonstrably effective in achieving its military objectives as the level of rocket and mortar attacks on Israeli towns decreased significantly even during the three weeks of the Gaza Operation (see figure 4.2) (mfa.gov.il: The Operation in Gaza 2009).

General officer commanding Southern Command, Maj. Gen. Yoav Galant, summarized the attitude towards terrorists firing rockets from Gaza at an assembly of the Sho'alay Marom Brigade (res.) and the Armored Corps Battalion (res.) at the Mishmar Hanegev military base stating that *"The assessment is that the other side understands that*

firing rockets is not worth it, and we will make sure that it remains that way and thus prepare to suppress the capabilities of Hamas." (Global Security: Operation Cast Lead)

As was the case during this Gaza operation, current terrorist threats have mostly the form of missile fire and Israel relies on its anti-missile system. The Iron Dome system aims to intercept short-range missiles and rockets fired from the Gaza Strip and southern Lebanon, while the country's Arrow 2 and eventually Arrow 3, which is under development at the moment, seek to intercept long-range missiles and inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) that can possibly be aimed at Israel from Iran. In November 2012, Israel and the US also successfully tested the Magic Wand (or David's Sling) system, which is designed to fill the gap between the Iron Dome and Arrow 2 and it is also capable of acting as a back-up to the Arrow 2 system. (Lappin 2012)

Chapter Five: Effects of emphasizing the hard power counter-terrorism strategy on international perception of Israel and its foreign policy

The reason why the Israeli decision-makers have chosen the hard power approach towards counter-terrorism policy follows from chapter three on history of Palestinian terrorism. It could be expressed with a statement made by Shira Sorko-Ram in Maoz Israel Report (2004) and later popularized by Benjamin Netanyahu, *"If Palestine were to lay down their guns tomorrow, there would be no war. If Israel were to lay down theirs, there would be no Israel"*. The imminent danger of being destroyed by hostile neighboring countries at any time forces Israel to resort to the most effective measures which have to be hard power oriented as Hamas escalates the conflict mostly militarily and uses soft power measures to benefit from the military confrontation. The hard power response has proven effective in short-term but in long-term, there is a need for a more permanent solution.

To assess how the political emphasis on hard power oriented counter-terrorism strategy is affecting perception of Israel on the international level and its foreign policy, the author is going to analyze reaction of the world actors and public to three Israeli counter-terrorism military actions. This analysis will be used to qualitatively evaluate the damage it caused to perception of Israel worldwide.

5.1 Operation Defensive Shield in response to the outbreak of the Second Intifada

The most discussed part of the operation was the so called battle of Jenin that initiated a worldwide misleading media campaign accusing the IDF of a massacre. The Jenin refugee camp was the second largest refugee camp in the West Bank in population, being home to roughly 14,000 Palestinians living on 1 square kilometer. According to both Palestinian and Israeli observers, some 200 armed men from the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, Tanzim, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and Hamas operated from the camp by April 2002. The IDF entered the city of Jenin and the adjacent refugee camp on April 3, 2002, declared them closed military area, prevented all access and imposed a round-the-clock curfew. (UN Report on Jenin) The operation was investigated by the UN that published a Report of the Secretary-General prepared pursuant to General Assembly resolution ES-10/10, which concluded that by the time of the IDF withdrawal, 52 Palestinians, of whom up to half may have been civilians, were dead, 450 families were rendered homeless and the cost of the destruction of property was estimated at approximately $27 million. (UN Report on Jenin) Even though the

number of victims stated in the report proved conclusively that there was no massacre in Jenin, the report confirmed substantial property damage and displacement of large number of inhabitants of the camp and failed to successfully restore the reputation of Israel in relation to the events in Jenin. And despite the fact that a number of world media later apologized for broadcasting unfounded information, the rumor about the massacre was difficult to reverse as it was further encouraged by Muhammad Bakri's film "Jenin, Jenin", which presents considerably distorted picture of the events.

In this case, the most judgmental reactions came from international organizations (EU, UN) that rushed to condemn Israeli military actions without knowing any facts. Terje Roed-Larsen, UN Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process, said that *"combating terrorism does not give a blank check to kill civilians"* (Muravchik 2003: 102).

On April 15, 2002, the Commission on Human Rights adopted Resolution 2002/8 on the *"Question of the violation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine,"* in which it expressed grave concern with *"the continued deterioration of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory and the gross violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, in particular, acts of extra-judicial killing, closures, collective punishments, the persistence in establishing settlements, arbitrary detentions, the besieging of Palestinian towns and villages, the shelling of Palestinian residential districts ..., the conducting of incursions into towns and camps and the killing of men, women and children there as was the case lately in the camps of Jenin, Balata, Khan Younis, Rafah, Ramallah, Gaza, Nablus, Al-Birah, al-Amari, Jabalia, Bethlehem and Dheisheh"*. The Commission went even further in its rhetoric when it emphasized its particular dissent from acts of mass killing perpetrated by the Israeli occupying authorities against the Palestinian people.

The European Union took similar stand when Christopher Patton, the EU External Relations Commissioner, stated that *"Israelis can't trample over the rule of law, over the Geneva conventions, over what are generally regarded as acceptable norms of behaviour without it doing colossal damage to their reputation"* (Black, MacAskill, Watt 2002). On April 10, 2002, the European Parliament adopted a resolution calling for immediate suspension of trade relations and cooperation with Israel to protest its military offensive against the Palestinians. The resolution also called for an arms embargo against "Israel and Palestine" and condemned suicide bombings. But its strongest words were reserved for Israel as it condemned the *"military escalation pursued by the Sharon government"* and the *"oppression of the Palestinian population by the Israeli army"*. Even though the resolution

was non-binding Germany went through with the recommendations of the resolution and suspended arms sales to Israel. Israeli officials stated that the resolution was a harsh blow to Israel's relations with Europe saying that *"there is a basic lack of understanding in Europe to the damage this has caused, and to the fact that Europe, which wants to find a role in the Middle East, will find itself out of the game due to its pro-Arab positions*." – cited in Maariv. (Shuman 2002)

Also China criticized Israel's invasion of Palestine in a speech given by Wang Yingfan, permanent representative of China to the UN, at the Security Council session on the situation in the Middle East on April 3, 2002: *"The deterioration of the situation in the Middle East in recent days has proven once again that Israel's approach of achieving security through military high-handedness will go nowhere. ... We oppose and condemn Israel's invasion of Palestine, and we call upon Israel ... to unconditionally withdraw all its troops from Palestine ... We call for an early end to the vicious cycle of countering violence with violence, so as to prevent extreme and violent activities by a handful of people from disrupting the early restoration of all the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."*

The United States' initial reaction was much more contained concentrating on hearing out both sides and trying to propose solutions leading to negotiating cease-fire and advancing the peace talks. For the most part, administration officials and members of the Congress supported Israel's right to defend itself while calling for access for humanitarian organizations and a UN fact-finding mission. White House Press Briefings demonstrated recognition that the Jenin incursion was a military action and an understanding of Israel's right to take such action to defend itself. (ADL 2002)

When asked whether Palestinian violence in the occupied territories against Israeli soldiers - not civilians - was terrorism, in an apparent reference to the attack on Israeli soldiers in Jenin, the Secretary of State Powell said that *"violence of whatever form, whether one would call it an act of terrorism or an act of resistance, at this point is counterproductive."* He added that *"what we have to see now is an end to the violence, with whatever title you want to give to that violence, it is violence nonetheless and it is totally destabilizing the region."* (Purdum 2002)

5.2 Operation Change of Direction in southern Lebanon in 2006

The Israeli government had almost unequivocal domestic support from Israeli public when it launched the operation but as the war prolonged and the rockets kept dropping, the support diminished. The government was not only publicly supported but from foreign policy

perspective, Israel operated – perhaps for the first time in its military history – without internationally imposed time constraints. (Zeev 2008: 622)

The Bush administration provided Israel with what amounted to be a blank check to continue its military operations for as long as it needed, fending off diplomatic attempts by the international community to put an end to the conflict (Zeev 2008: 622). On July 15, 2006, the US was the sole member of the 15-nation UN Security Council to oppose any council action at all at this time thus rejecting pleas from Lebanon to the Council to call for an immediate cease-fire between Israel and Lebanon, the Israeli newspaper Haaretz reported. On the same day, President Bush stated that *"one of the interesting things about this recent flare-up is that it helps clarify one of the root causes of instability in the Middle East, and that's Hezbollah's relations with Syria, Hezbollah's relationship to Iran and Syria's relationship to Iran. Therefore to solve this problem it is really important for the world to address the root cause. We of course are continuing discussions with Israel, all sovereign nations have a right to defend themselves from terrorist attacks, our message (to Israel) is defend yourself but be mindful of the consequences, so we are urging restraint."* (democracynow.org 2006) The administration took this stand in hope that Israel would destroy Hezbollah and deliver a political blow to both Iran and Syria, which would indirectly help the US in its war in Iraq and its broader war on terror (Harel, Issacharoff 2008: 205-8; Shelah and Limor 2007: 88 – in Hebrew)/ (Zeev 2008: 621-622)

A month after the fighting started, the UN Security Council finally issued Resolution 1701, which called for a cease-fire and the pullout of Israeli troops from southern Lebanon. The resolution also expanded the mandate and the size of UNIFIL mission in southern Lebanon and called on the Lebanese government to send the army to southern Lebanon to disarm Hezbollah. (Zeev 2008: 621-622)

According to a statement released by Finland, which held the EU presidency at that time "*the European Union is greatly concerned about the disproportionate use of force by Israel in Lebanon in response to attacks by Hezbollah on Israel. The presidency deplores the loss of civilian lives and the destruction of civilian infrastructure. The imposition of an air and sea blockade on Lebanon cannot be justified.*" In the strongest comment on the escalating violence, the statement said, *"actions, which are contrary to international humanitarian law, can only aggravate the vicious circle of violence and retribution, and cannot serve anyone's legitimate security interests."* (Associated Press July 13, 2006)

None of the Arab countries tried to help the Lebanese beyond mild condemnation of Israel's actions. (Zeev 2008: 621-622) Egypt warned that the violence could engulf the entire region

in conflict and called on all sides to avoid *"being dragged into a new cycle of violence and counterviolence."* Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit condemned *"targeting civilians under the pretext of fighting terrorism"* as *"unacceptable and unjustified,"* and further added that *"Israeli practices violate international law. We condemn any military action that targets civilians. We consider it a terrorist act, regardless of who the civilians are or its source."* Jordanian government issued a statement condemning *"Israel's use of force against unarmed civilians and the outcome in terms of the human loss and destruction of civil institutions."* But it also clearly criticized Hezbollah, saying, *"Jordan stands against whoever exposes the Palestinian people and their cause, Lebanon and its sovereignty to unexpected dangers."* (Associated Press, July 13, 2006)

With the support and military aid of the US and only mild condemnation from the Arab world, this was the first time Israel enjoyed such favorable international conditions for the conduct of its military operations (Zeev 2008: 622).

5.3 Operation Cast Lead in Gaza in winter 2008 - 2009

During Operation Cast Lead, Israeli forces killed more than 1,300 Palestinians, many of them women and children, injured 7,000 civilians and destroyed over 4,000 houses and much of Gaza's infrastructure. (Global Security: Operation Cast Lead)

In the wake of these numbers, Operation Cast Lead provoked strong reactions all over the world not only on the part of the governments and international organizations but also on the part of public. Israeli strikes triggered large anti-Israeli protests in more than dozen countries around the world several of which led to clashes with the police (Telegraph 2008).

Majority of countries, including Russia and China, as well as the European Union and the United Nations called for an end to the violence and condemned neither or both sides. The Russian foreign ministry declared in an official statement that *"Moscow considers it necessary to stop large-scale military action against Gaza, which has already led to major casualties and suffering among the civilian Palestinian population. At the same time, we call on the Hamas leadership to stop shelling Israeli territory."* On the other hand, a major part of the Arab world unsurprisingly condemned only Israeli actions. (BBC News: Reaction in quotes 2008)

Spokesman for Javier Solana, the EU foreign policy chief, expressed concern of the EU with the events in Gaza and called for an immediate ceasefire urging everybody to exert maximum

restraint. (BBC News: Reaction in quotes 2008) The EU, seeking to fill a diplomatic vacuum in the Middle East left by departing Bush administration, sent two separate missions to try to broker a ceasefire and offer more humanitarian aid. These two missions corresponded with divisions among the union's 27 member nations. Some are more openly critical of Israel and others – including Britain, Germany and some Central/Eastern European nations – align themselves more closely with Washington, the former represented in the mission headed by the President of France, Nicholas Sarkozy, the latter represented in the first mission led by Karel Schwarzenberg, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, which took over the EU presidency from France on January 1, 2009. (Castle, Bennhold 2008) President Sarkozy said he *"firmly condemns the irresponsible provocations that have led to this situation, as well as the disproportionate use of force."* (Ben-David, Abu Ramadan 2008) Schwarzenberg told in an interview to Mladá Fronta Dnes: *"let us realise one thing: Hamas increased steeply the number of rockets fired at Israel since the cease-fire ended on December 19. That is not acceptable anymore."* Schwarzenberg said Hamas had excluded itself from serious political debate due to its rocket attacks on Israel. He also indirectly blamed the group for the growing death toll, saying it put its bases and gun warehouses in densely populated areas. Furthermore, he stated he would not support either side in the conflict but rather work as a mediator. (Reuters UK 2008)

The United States supported Israel recognizing its right to self-defense. On January 9, the US House of Representatives has voted to endorse resolution backing Israel's offensive in Gaza by *"recognizing Israel's right to defend itself against attacks from Gaza"*. A day before, the US Senate passed its own resolution offering *"unwavering commitment"* to Israel, recognizing *"its right to act in self-defense to protect its citizens against acts of terrorism"* and urging a ceasefire that would keep Palestinians from firing rockets at Israel. (Al-Jazeera 2009) The White House issued a statement blaming Hamas for the Israeli air strikes on Gaza that killed hundreds of Palestinians and requested Hamas to end "terrorist activities" if it wished to play a role in the future of the Palestinian people. (Foxnews 2008)

Unlike the European Union, the US did not engage by sending a mission to the region to try to mediate negotiations as it was awaiting the inauguration of President-elect Barack Obama on January 20, 2009, but Rice met with Arab and European diplomats in New York. (Landler 2009) The US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said in a statement that *"The United States is deeply concerned about the escalating violence in Gaza. We strongly condemn the repeated rocket and mortar attacks against Israel and hold Hamas responsible*

for breaking the ceasefire and for the renewal of violence there. The ceasefire must be restored immediately and fully respected. The United States calls on all concerned to protect innocent lives and to address the urgent humanitarian needs of the people of Gaza." (BBC News: Reaction in quotes 2008)

On December 28, 2008, the UN Security Council issued a statement calling for an *„immediate halt to all violence in Gaza."* The members called on the parties *"to stop immediately all military activities,"* to address *"the serious humanitarian and economic needs in Gaza and stressed the need for the restoration of calm in full"* to open the way for a Palestinian-Israeli political solution. (Worsnip 2008)

Spokesman for the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon said that the secretary general *"is deeply alarmed by ... heavy violence and bloodshed in Gaza, and the continuation of violence in southern Israel"* and he *"appeals for an immediate halt to all violence [and reiterates] previous calls for humanitarian supplies to be allowed into Gaza to aid the distressed civilian population."* (BBC News: Reaction in quotes 2008)

Later, in the beginning of January, the United States thwarted an effort by Libya, the only Arab country on the council, to persuade the Security Council to call for an immediate ceasefire (Al-Mughrabi 2009) in the Gaza Strip and southern Israel and expressing concern about the escalation of violence between Israel and Hamas. The US deputy ambassador Alejandro Wolff said the US saw no prospect of Hamas abiding by the council's call for an immediate end to the violence. Therefore, he said, a new statement at this time "would not be adhered to and would have no underpinning for success (Lederer 2009).

The reaction sparked by Israeli military actions in Gaza in winter 2008 – 2009 was the most widespread of all three cases, especially on the part of the public, and it was very strong and judgmental. In the aftermath of Operation Cast Lead, Israel's diplomatic position and international reputation was permanently tainted. According to the New York Times, Israel was *"facing its worst diplomatic crisis in two decades"*. Its sports teams have met hostility and violent protests in Sweden, Spain, and Turkey and Mauritania has closed Israel's embassy. (Bronner 2009)

The worldwide criticism led to two distinct and somewhat contradictory reactions in Israel. On one hand, there was real concern. Global opinion surveys were closely examined and the Foreign Ministry has been granted an extra $2 million to improve Israel's image through cultural and information diplomacy. Arye Mekel, the ministry's deputy director general for

cultural affairs, said that *"we will send well-known novelists and writers overseas, theater companies, exhibits. This way you show Israel's prettier face, so we are not thought of purely in the context of war."* On the other hand, there was also a growing sense that outsiders do not understand Israel's predicament. Eytan Gilboa, a professor of politics and international communication at Bar Ilan University, said that *"people here feel that no matter what you do you are going to be blamed for all the problems in the Middle East. Even suicide bombings by Palestinians are seen as our fault for not establishing a Palestinian state."* (Bronner 2009)

Chapter Six: Possibilities of soft power approach implementation

6.1 Actors in Israeli counter-terrorism policy

In order to identify the actors that could be assigned the task of implementing soft power approach measures into Israeli counter-terrorism policy it is necessary to mark off the actors with the competence in the field. As the extent of this thesis is limited, the author will concentrate only on those actors with adequate authority to implement soft power measures in this subchapter. The used information comes rather from official sources of these actors than secondary sources as the differentiation among their competences as they were assigned to them by law and their inner execution of them is key to identifying those who have the authority to implement such measures. It follows that any further analysis was neither needed to reach this goal nor possible because of the limited extent of this text.

The main actor in Israeli counter-terrorism decision-making is the Counter Terrorism Buraeu (CTB). It falls under the National Security Council, which is the Prime Minister and Government's staff forum for advising on national security issues. The CTB was founded following a wave of terror attacks in March 1996. In most of its activities, the Bureau functions as an inter-organizational coordinator improving the responses of civilian and security organizations in the fight against terror, by addressing existing and future gaps. The CTB serves as a headquarters body for the Prime Minister, the government and its committees. The Bureau deals with a diverse range of issues, some in accordance with directives issued by the Prime Minister, some by the Bureau itself, some by security bodies, and government ministries as well as foreign organizations. (National Security Council)

In December 2005, the Cabinet empowered the CTB to serve as the body coordinating the issue of the fight against terror, which means it is authorized to determine who will be responsible for a certain matter, what is the scope of this responsibility and what are the mutual relations between the various parties. The CTB is engaged, among other tasks, in security issues (in Israel and abroad), terror infrastructure, creating an integrated picture of terror threats, publication of travel warnings, preparation of staff documents and position papers about terror-related issues and their derivatives, and promotion of collaboration in CTB issues with foreign countries. (National Security Council)

Further actors of the executive authority who have direct power or indirect influence on the Israeli counter-terrorism decision-making are Cabinet members - Prime Minister, Vice-Prime Ministers, Minister of Defense, Minister of Home Front Defense, Minister of

Intelligence and Atomic Energy, Minister of Interior, Minister of Internal Security and Minister of Justice. (CIA factbook: World Leaders 2011)

The legislative authority, the unicameral Knesset, has two permanent committees that are engaged in the field of counter-terrorism; the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee that oversees the foreign affairs of the state and armed forces and security and the Internal Affairs and Environment Committee that, among other issues, oversees press, intelligence, police, and prisons. (Knesset: Permanent Committees)

The important judicial authority in the counter-terrorism field is the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court also functions as the High Court of Justice with original jurisdiction for petitions brought by individuals against acts and decisions of the state and local authorities or against individuals in public office. It may also order the release of unlawfully detained persons. (CIA factbook: Israel) However, judicial authority cannot really be used to implement the soft power counter-terrorism strategy even though certain trials could be used as deterring examples for terrorists.

The security forces take part in the counter-terrorism strategy mainly as executors even though their highest echelons, especially of the IDF, can to certain extent influence the decision-making process. One of the major obstacles in reforming the counter-terrorism policy is the fact that the heads of various branches of the security establishment are aware of the policymakers' distress and their desire to respond promptly. Thus, regardless of their primary duties they elevate the response to terrorism to the top of their agendas (Pedahzur 2010: 137).

The IDF does not have a commander-in-chief as such. According to the Basic Law *"the army, 1976, vested command in the government"*. Therefore, the Minister of Defense acts as the highest authority over the IDF and is its link to civilian political authorities. The Minister of Defense is a civilian although usually a retired military officer and as the supreme commander of the IDF, he can intervene in all IDF matters. The cabinet is required to give a prior approval to major military policies and operations and under normal circumstances, this responsibility is exercised by the standing Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the cabinet. However, the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 demonstrated that a domineering Minister of Defense could act contrary to the government's wishes by misleading the cabinet or withholding information. Periodic reports on the status of the military are therefore provided to the Knesset through its Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. (Global Security: Ministry of Defense)

The Israel Police is responsible for public security and maintaining order and law enforcement. The prevention and thwarting of terror acts planned by terrorist organizations falls within the competence of the police. The police carry out this function through patrols, searches, raids, and information campaigns designed to increase the level of public awareness. (Ministry of Public Security: The Israel Police)

The intelligence community is a complex organizational structure that is responsible for intelligence collection, analysis, and dissemination throughout the country and abroad. Three agencies are the major intelligence providers in Israel: Aman, the Military Intelligence Service; the Shin Bet, the General Security Service or Israel Security Agency, (domestic intelligence); and the Mossad, the Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations (international intelligence). (Grerene, Herzog 2009: 165)

The Shin Bet is organizationally divided into three operational departments and five for operational support. Department for the Arab Affairs is responsible for anti-terrorist operations, counter-subversion, and maintaining an index on Arab militants. The Department of Non-Arab Affairs has a broad counter-intelligence role, penetrating foreign agencies and diplomatic missions and vetting incoming immigrants. (Todd, Bloch 2003: 153)

Even though the Mossad is not involved in internal security, it has competence in the field of counterterrorism outside the country, e.g. in southern Lebanon from where there is a direct danger to Israeli territory. The Mossad has been appointed by the State of Israel to collect information, analyze intelligence, and perform special covert operations beyond its borders (mossad.gov.il: About us). It has a total of eight departments, from which LAP (Lohamah Psichlogit) Department is the most important for this thesis as it is responsible for psychological warfare, propaganda, and deception operations. (Global Security: Mossad)

6.2 Implementation of soft power measures

Recently, Israel set out in the right direction and began to implement some soft power features moving from an offensive model to a more defensive approach. It started sending mass text messages and dropping leaflets informing about air strikes in the area prior to carrying them out. It also reduced the number of strikes, compared to the past, trying to minimize civilian casualties while being as efficient as possible when targeting terrorist infrastructure. The milestone in this approach was 2008-2009 Gaza operation, for which Israel became harshly criticized. Israeli leaders also try to form their speeches in such a way that the world actors and public can understand that Israel executes its right to defend itself while bearing in mind

the well-being of civilians that might be injured or otherwise affected. But both the communications perspective and the public policy perspective could be taken further.

As there is wide range of media, terrorist organizations have a lot of opportunities and ways how to use them. If we assume that terrorist organizations operate according to a multi-phase rational strategy, which begins with perpetrating a terrorist attack aimed at achieving widespread media coverage, one of the first counter-measures should be reducing the effect of such coverage to minimum. The media coverage is supposed to intimidate the public and in this way influence the political perspectives and attitudes of citizens. The anxiety felt by the nation's citizens will be translated into public pressure on decision-makers to accede to terrorists' demands and make decisions that coincide with the interests of terrorist organizations. If we ascribe to the theory that the media and public are central elements in the terrorists' operational strategy there is a need for an effective counter-measure. (Ganor 2008: 229) Both terrorism and counter-terrorism are based on story-telling and logically whichever story is able to persuade the majority of people wins. When used with skill, story-telling is a weapon of mass persuasion. (von Knop 2007: 247)

Terrorist organizations can make the best use of the Internet in very creative ways, most of which are hard to counter. One of the primary uses of the Internet by terrorists is for the dissemination of propaganda, which generally takes a form of multimedia communications providing ideological or practical instruction, explanations, justifications or promotion of terrorist activities. The Internet may be used not only as a means to publish propaganda but also as a way to recruit those most responsive to this targeted propaganda and to achieve their further radicalization[18]. The Internet plays a highly important role in the process of collective radicalization. Firstly, the Web spreads a radical message; secondly, it allows the user anonymity; and thirdly, the Internet is capable of creating a virtual community. And while propaganda per se is not generally prohibited, the use of propaganda by terrorists to incite acts of terrorism, which is the final step along the terrorist continuum, is considered unlawful by many states. (UNODC, The use of the Internet for terrorist purposes 2012: 3-6; von Knop 2007: 246)

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[18] The radicalization of individuals is a dynamic group process of indoctrination that often accompanies the transformation of recruits into individuals determined to act with violence based on extremist ideologies and is the missing link between extremist thinking and perpetration of terrorist acts. (UNODC, The use of the Internet for terrorist purposes 2012: 3-6)

Online discussions provide an opportunity to present opposing viewpoints or to engage in a constructive debate, which may have the effect of discouraging potential supporters. Counter-narratives with a strong factual foundation may be conveyed through online discussion forums, social networking sites, images, and videos. Successful counter-narratives may also demonstrate empathy with the underlying issues that contribute to radicalization, such as political and social conditions, and suggest alternatives to violent means of achieving the desired outcomes. Strategic communications that provide counter-narratives to terrorist propaganda may also be disseminated in multiple languages to reach a broad, geographically diverse audience. (UNODC, The use of the Internet for terrorist purposes 2012: 12)

Considering Hamas' repeated military offensives and attacks both successful and attempted and world's reaction to those, Israel is losing because its story is not persuasive enough. The Israeli counter-narrative should actively respond to the story told by Hamas and its supporters while taking advantage of other soft power measures that it implements and thus founding its story on a strong factual basis. Especially measures in the area of public policy are highly usable to create a constructive and indisputable narrative. If the Israeli narrative is built on efforts to understand the other side and the willpower to help while addressing any military action only as an absolute necessity, it is likely to gain a considerable support on the international level and at least a certain degree of trust on the part of the Palestinian population.

The soft power counter-terrorism measures in the public policy arena include aid, assistance to the Palestinian Authority with governance, public diplomacy in the occupied territories, development policy advice, and aid to civil society or political parties (Young: Media Profile). One of the measures to deepen the cooperation between the settlements and areas under full Palestinian political and security administration in the West Bank and around the border with Gaza would be an introduction of political and security liaisons.

Israel already has the Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories Unit (COGAT), which leads the coordination and liaison with the PA and with the Palestinian population in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. But COGAT has offices only in major cities - Jenin, Efrayim Region, Nablus, Ramallah, Jerusalem and its periphery, Jericho, Bethlehem, and Hebron. In Judea and Samaria, contiguous and on-going security coordination also exists between Israeli security forces (both the IDF and the police) and the Palestinian security mechanisms. Unfortunately, all security coordination with the Gaza Strip has ceased

following the takeover of the Gaza Strip by Hamas in June 2007. (Coordination of Government Activities in the Territories, cogat.idf.il)

This cooperation should be further deepened by introduction of individual liaison officers between the administrations of neighboring Israeli settlements and cities or villages under the PA. This should not be limited to Israeli liaisons in Palestinian administrations but should also enable Palestinian liaisons in Israeli administrations. That way the liaison officers would be able to review the policies of the administrations and suggest recommended course of action to navigate all aspects of everyday life in areas where tension is omnipresent. The same cooperation should be commenced between police departments on both sides not only to improve ensuring the safety of all citizens but also to prevent false accusations and rumors that often stand at the beginning of much bigger misunderstandings that escalate to violent clashes.

In the public policy arena, the IDF could also help with implementing the soft power measures. When ground operation of the IDF is inevitable, an introduction of appeasement teams whose job would be to talk to the civilian population is an option. Such teams would go to the areas already cleared by the IDF in the process of the operation and already under their control and would talk to local residents recording any complaints they may have against the behavior of soldiers as well as any requests for humanitarian aid. It goes without saying that these teams would speak Arabic and would not be armed even though accompanied by IDF soldiers for security reasons. The teams could be also accompanied by a member of a non-governmental organization who would play the role of a neutral third party. This way the civilian population will be offered an olive branch letting them know that Israel is willing to help and that the operation is directed against Hamas (or Hezbollah) operatives. A potential complaint against the IDF behavior could be turned over to the High Court of Justice and although the probability of anybody being found guilty is low it would send a signal of willingness to listen.

Both the concept of countering narratives (and thus the ideology) of Hamas and public policy approach comprise political warfare. Therefore, they should be implemented by the Counter Terrorism Bureau as it has the authority to assign tasks to different political and security actors. Afterwards, the Internal Affairs and Environment Committee should be the supervisory body that would present feedback to the Knesset.

If all these options are used in a continuous cycle and accompanied by existing soft power counter-terrorism measures such as economic laws to prevent terrorist funding, there will be a

good chance of establishing a path to a long-term solution and disrupting the vicious circle of periods of fragile truce and outbursts of violence that again result in another period of volatile truce.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

If we follow the history of terrorism against Israel, both domestic and cross-border, even from the time before the establishment of the state, we can see why Israeli decision-makers were and are still pressured to pursue the war model when countering the threat of terrorism. When violence on the part of the terrorist organization reaches a certain level, there is a need for the political and security echelons to answer with the same determination to show that they cannot be intimidated or manipulated by terrorist acts. That is mainly the reason why Israel cannot give up the policy of targeted killings because it is probably the only measure that enables the decision-makers to respond with decisive force and to achieve immediate tangible results without affecting the civilian population, although this kind of response is not well accepted in the international arena.

Reactions to all three cases presented in chapter five proved that the emphasis of decision-makers on hard power oriented counter-terrorism strategy creates a strongly negative picture of Israel around the world. As we saw from the reactions of both world leaders and world public, Israel came in all instances under harsh criticism being accused of human rights and even humanitarian law violations. After every Israeli military counter-terrorism action, a similar sequence of events followed – a condemning statement or a resolution by the UN, criticism and calls for withdrawal of Israeli forces by world leaders and anti-Israeli demonstrations. The time for which Israel's reputation remains damaged depends on the extent of Israeli operation and the intensity of the negative reaction. The more negative the reactions are the longer they persist and more significant consequences follow. These consequences range from hostility towards Israeli sports teams abroad to closing its embassies. In response, Israel invests more money into public diplomacy to show the world its true nature – in performances of its artists, researchers and athletes – and to restore its reputation.

Therefore in order to gain international support and to create conditions for a long-term solution, there is a need of implementing soft power measures that will slowly change the climate among the Palestinian population and open the door to a political solution. Thus, they will make Israeli counter-terrorism policy more effective because they will ensure stable political and security conditions. The most significant progress in implementing soft power measures can be reached in the communications and public policy fields. Communications measures should be based on a strong central well-founded counter-narrative expressing sympathy to the living conditions of Palestinian population that would win Israel the support

of both domestic and international public. The public policy approach should be founded on deepening of mutual cooperation with the PA not only on the governmental level but also at the local level between administrations of individual Israeli settlements and cities and villages under Palestinian administration.

The suggested measures should be implemented continuously both to complement the hard power approach and complete their own cycle from the period before a military escalation through times when violence breaks out to the period of truce after that. They also should be accompanied by impartial observation of third parties – either governmental or non-governmental organizations – and ensued by a constructive feedback so they could be corrected in the next cycle, finally changing the climate and introducing further, even more profound, soft power measures.

Most importantly, the implementation of most of the suggested measures, especially from the public policy field, is to a certain extent dependent on mutual trust. Israel can offer help and arrange for these measures to be implemented but there has to be trust from the other side that these measures are implemented in good faith in an attempt to start a way to a mutually acceptable solution.

Slow implementation of soft power measures will gain Israel approval and support of both other states and world's public. In this case, if terrorist groups escalate violence it will be perceived as a provocation from their side and would leave Israel as a victim with its reputation intact.

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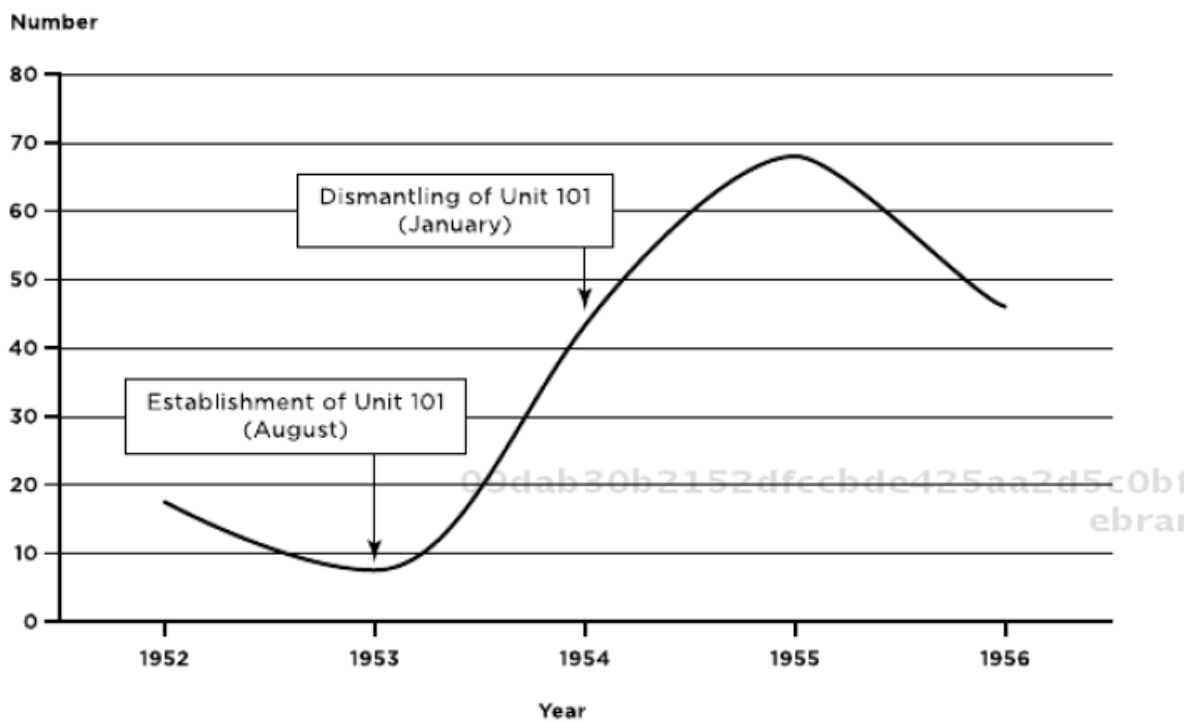
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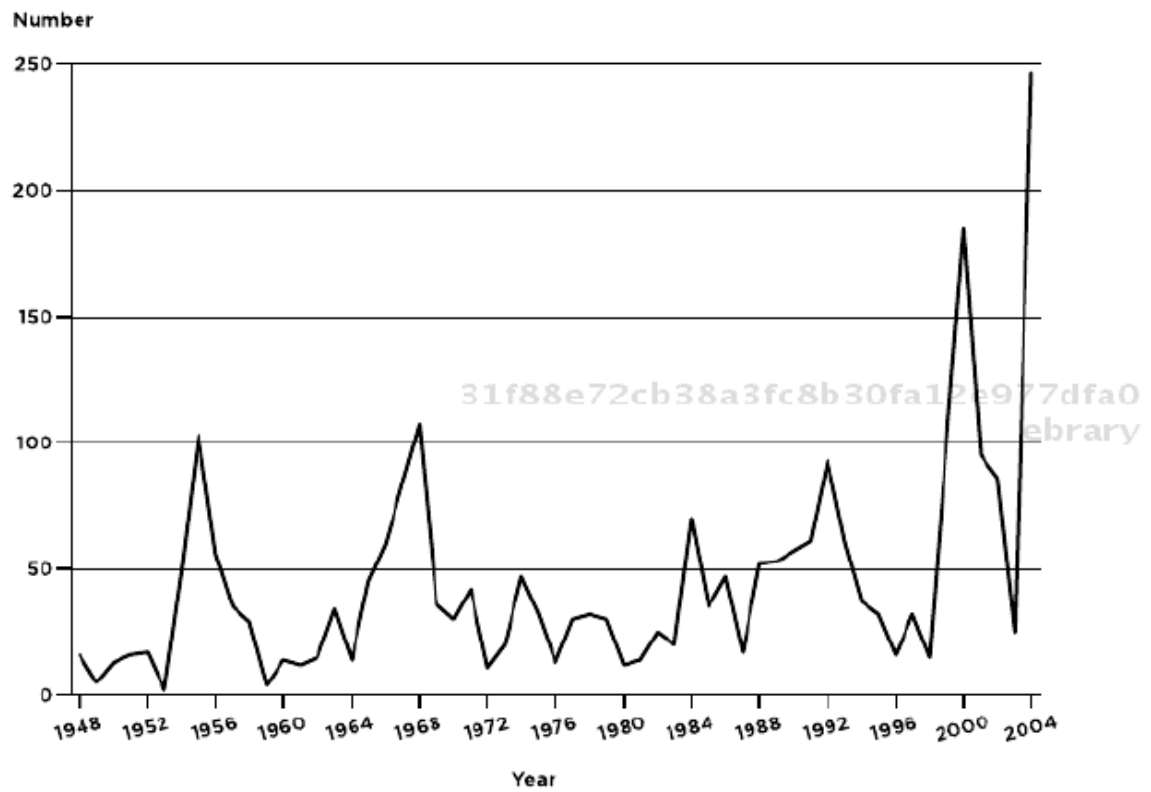
2.1 A nation's strategic goals in combating terrorism
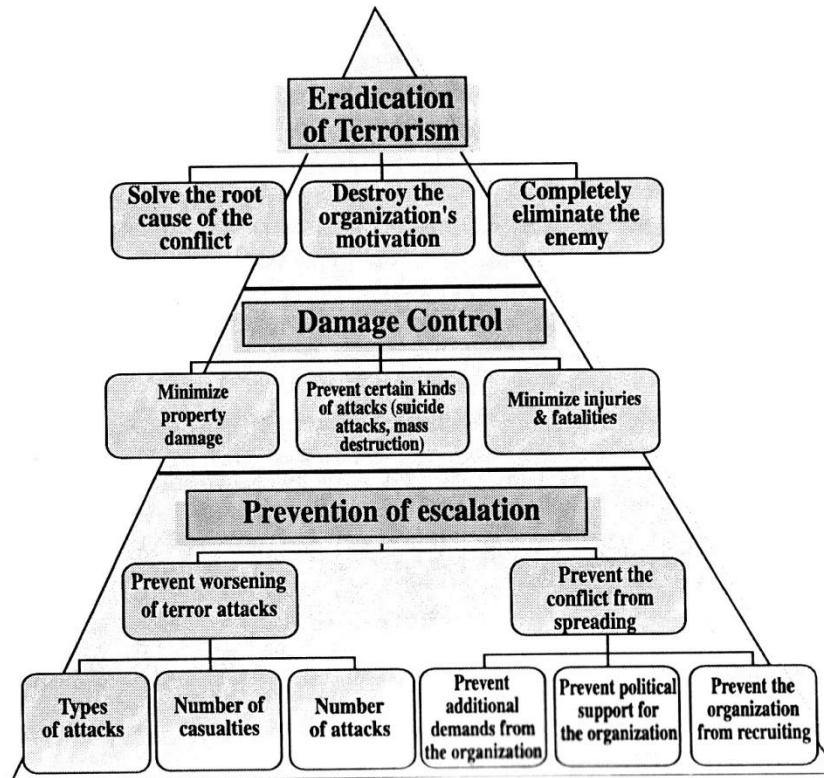
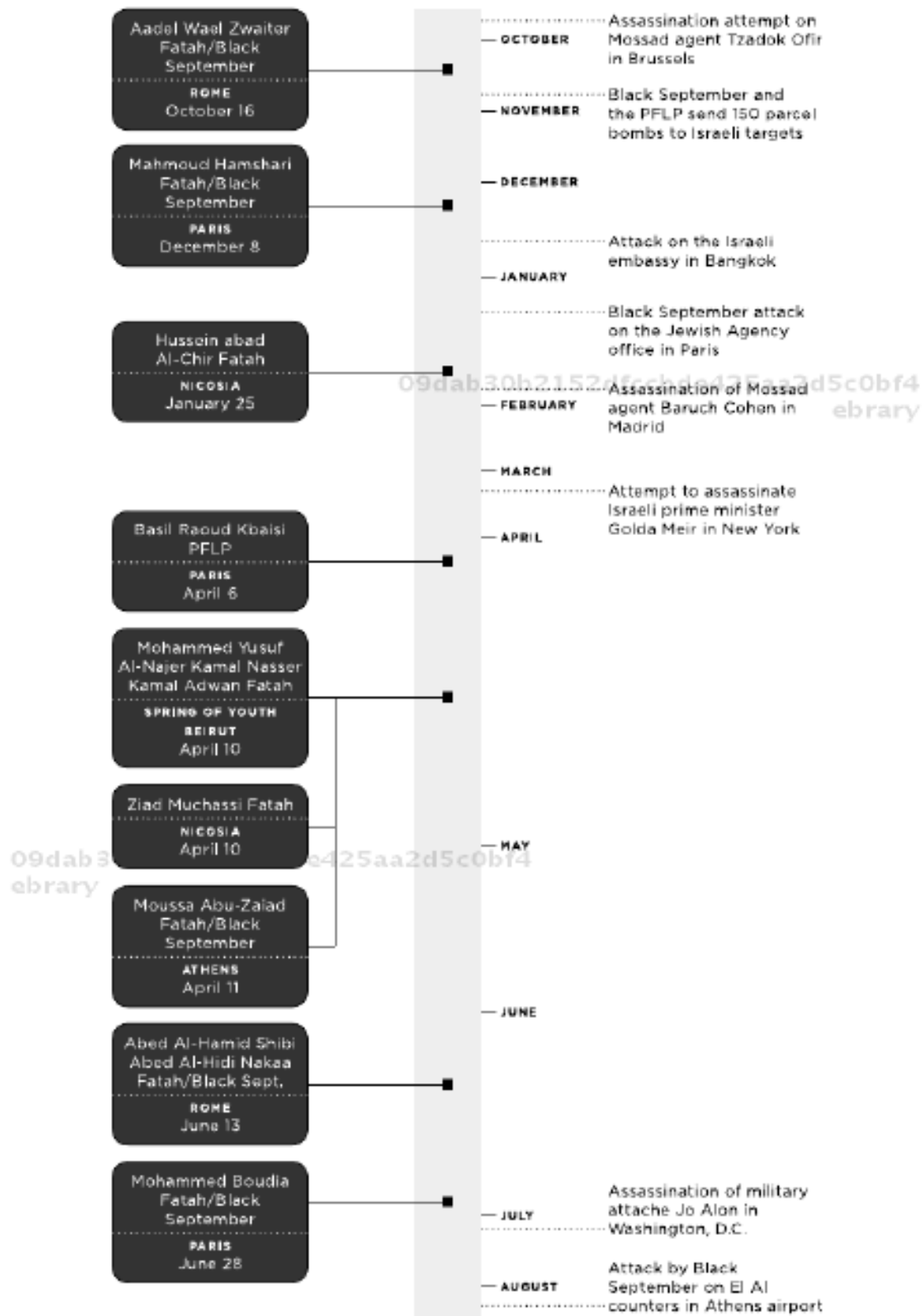(Ganor 2008: 26)

3.1 Palestinian terrorist attacks 1952 – 1956

(Pedahzur 2010: 26)

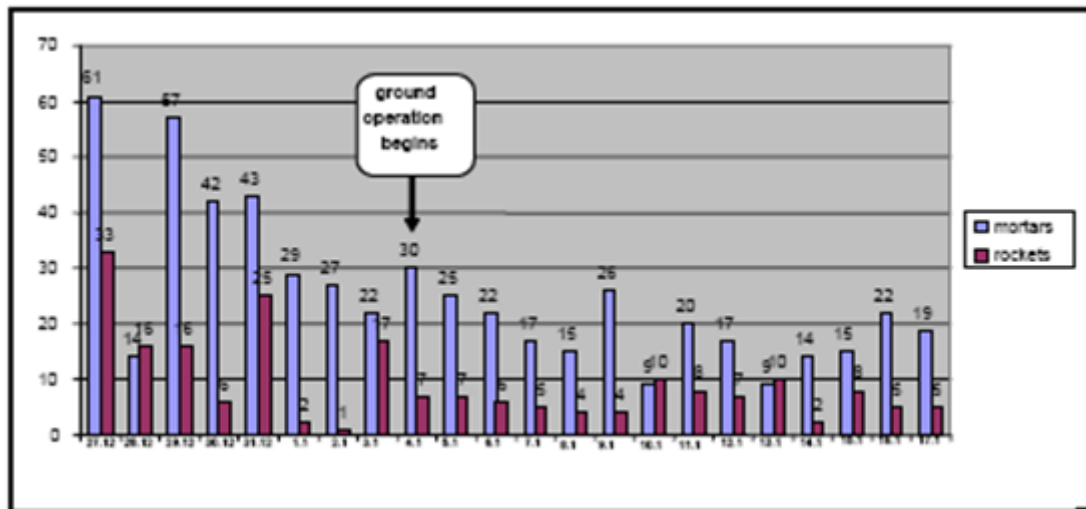**3.2 Palestinian terrorist attacks on Israeli targets, 1948 – 2006**

(Pedahzur 2010: 136)

4.1 Operation Wrath of God and Palestinian retaliation operations

Aadel Wael Zwaiter Fatah/Black September — ROME October 16	OCTOBER	Assassination attempt on Mossad agent Tzadok Ofir in Brussels
	NOVEMBER	Black September and the PFLP send 150 parcel bombs to Israeli targets
Mahmoud Hamshari Fatah/Black September — PARIS December 8	DECEMBER	
	JANUARY	Attack on the Israeli embassy in Bangkok
Hussein abad Al-Chir Fatah — NICOSIA January 25		Black September attack on the Jewish Agency office in Paris
	FEBRUARY	Assassination of Mossad agent Baruch Cohen in Madrid
	MARCH	
Basil Raoud Kbaisi PFLP — PARIS April 6	APRIL	Attempt to assassinate Israeli prime minister Golda Meir in New York
Mohammed Yusuf Al-Najer Kamal Nasser Kamal Adwan Fatah SPRING OF YOUTH BEIRUT April 10		
Ziad Muchassi Fatah NICOSIA April 10	MAY	
Moussa Abu-Zalad Fatah/Black September ATHENS April 11		
	JUNE	
Abed Al-Hamid Shibi Abed Al-Hidi Nakaa Fatah/Black Sept. ROME June 13		
Mohammed Boudia Fatah/Black September PARIS June 28	JULY	Assassination of military attache Jo Alon in Washington, D.C.
	AUGUST	Attack by Black September on El Al counters in Athens airport

(Pedahzur 2010: 41)

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4. 2   Rocket and mortar shells fired at Israel during the Gaza Operation between December 27, 2008, and January 17, 2009

(mfa.gov.il, The Operation in Gaza 2009: 33)